

Message Text

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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 049689

EXDIS - FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, XM

SUBJECT: A FEW REFLECTIONS ON THE SECRETARY'S TRIP

1. REACTIONS HERE TO THE TRIP ARE UPBEAT. THE SECRETARY LEARNED AGAIN, AS YOU HAVE KNOWN FOR YEARS, THAT THE SPECIAL QUALITY OF OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA COMES THROUGH IN PERSONAL CONTACT. THIS IS NO SMALL ASSET, FOR US OR THEM. THERE WAS REALLY NO SERIOUS FACE-OFF ON ANY SINGLE ISSUE. HE MET WITH DECISIVE LEADERS, WHO KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED TO DISCUSS AND HAD SPECIFIC AND POSITIVE PROPOSALS. MORE CONFIDENT NATIONS EXIST OUT THERE. NOT THAT THERE WERE NOT SOME DIFFERENCES: MARCONA IN PERU AND COUNTERVAILING DUTIES IN BRAZIL. BUT THE TONE OF THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC MEETINGS WAS SO POSITIVE THAT THE SECRETARY IS RECONFIRMED IN HIS BELIEF THAT THERE ARE GENUINE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO US IN THE COMING MONTHS TO SEE MOVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS IN THE HEMISPHERE.

2. THE SECRETARY IS VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE NEED TO AVOID RAISING EXPECTATIONS AS TO WHAT THE U.S. WILL BE ABLE TO
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DELIVER. BUT HE IS ALSO CONVINCED THAT THE PARTICULAR

NATURE OF OUR HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS REQUIRES US TO CONTINUE TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO BE RESPONSIVE WITHOUT

BEING PATRONIZING. THE POLICIES ENUNCIATED BY THE SECRETARY ON THE TRIP CARRY HIS STRONG PERSONAL IMPRINT AND INVOLVEMENT. THEY ALSO CONSTITUTE A COHERENT AND CREATIVE MIX OF THE IDEAS WE HAVE BEEN DEBATING IN THE BUREAU AND WITH YOU OVER THE PAST YEAR OR SO:

-- RECOGNITION OF BILATERAL REALITY BUT A STRONG REENDORSEMENT OF REGIONALISM WHERE IT WILL SERVE REAL AS OPPOSED TO RHETORICAL GOALS, AND LATIN INTEGRATION;

-- ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS BUT RECOGNITION OF THE SPECIAL HISTORIC AND CULTURAL NATURE OF THE WHOLE;

-- EXPRESSION OF OUR GLOBAL COMMITMENT AND THE "NEW REALITIES" OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DEBATE, BUT AN APPRECIATION THAT WITHIN THIS "NEW REALITY" THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE IS SPECIAL AND WILL REMAIN SO (NO LOME DECLARATION FOR THE REGION BUT YET SOME SPECIAL CONSIDERATION WITHIN OUR GLOBAL ECONOMIC COMMITMENTS).

3. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN ALL THE TOASTS AND SPEECHES BY NOW. THEY ARE WORTH SOME STUDY. I COMMEND THEM TO YOUR EMBASSY PERSONNEL AS A SET OF IDEAS WHICH ARE COHERENT. THE SECRETARY SUMMARIZED WHAT HE TOOK TO BE THE OUTSTANDING POINTS OF THE EARLIER STATEMENTS. WE INTEND TO HAVE ALL OF THEM PRINTED UP AS A PAMPHLET FOR DISTRIBUTION. COPIES OF IT OUGHT TO BE IN YOUR HANDS SHORTLY. I ASSUME THAT, IN THE MEANWHILE, YOU WILL HAVE DRAWN THE ATTENTION OF YOUR HOSTS TO THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS. YOU WILL HAVE RECEIVED THEM ON THE USIS FILE.

4. THE TRIP WAS NOT THE POLICY. QUITE THE CONTRARY. THE SPEECHES AND TOASTS WERE DESIGNED TO MOVE, NOT PLACATE. AS THE SECRETARY SAID POINTEDLY ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION, THE LATIN AMERICAN LANDSCAPE IS LITTERED WITH RHETORIC. IT DOES NOT SERVE MUCH PURPOSE TO ADD TO THE

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LITTER. WHAT HE WANTS IS NOT A RECORD OF FINE WORDS BUT THE SENSE THAT THOSE WORDS WILL LEAD TO CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC ACTION. WE ARE DEVELOPING AN INVENTORY OF THE SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH WERE VETTED IN THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATIONS ON THE TRIP AND IN THE SPEECHES. THERE ARE A NUMBER. WE WILL SHARE THIS INVENTORY WITH YOU WHEN IT IS COMPLETED. WE ARE CALLING AN IG MEETING FOR FRIDAY TO DISCUSS ITS IMPLEMENTATION. THE SECRETARY FEELS THAT,

TO INSPIRE THE BUREAUCRACY TO MOVE, ACTION DEADLINES ARE ESSENTIAL. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT HE STRESSED THE

OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING, NOT SO MUCH OUT OF AFFECTION FOR THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF, BUT RATHER BECAUSE THAT DATE -- WHATEVER IT MAY BE IN JUNE -- IS A DATE BY WHICH FOREIGN MINISTRIES CAN ASK THEIR STAFFS TO COME UP WITH SOMETHING SPECIFIC. IF IT WORKS, THIS COULD BE A TRULY CREATIVE PERIOD OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS. PUT YOUR WIT TO THE TASK. WE WOULD LIKE YOUR IDEAS, AND WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT.

5. A WORD ABOUT THE BRAZIL CONSULTATIVE AGREEMENT. WE WILL BE SENDING SEPARATE GUIDANCE ON THIS SHORTLY. BUT THE NET OF IT IS THAT:

-- THERE IS NOTHING NEW ABOUT CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA, LEAST OF ALL WITH BRAZIL.

-- BRAZIL IS AN IMPORTANT WORLD NATION AND HAS SIMILAR CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS WITH THE UKFRANCE AND ITALY.

-- THE BRAZIL AGREEMENT HAS NO EFFECT ON OUR TIES WITH OTHER NATIONS IN THE HEMISPHERE AND WE ARE PREPARED TO TAILOR APPROPRIATE CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY TO THE SPECIAL NATURE OF OUR TIES WITH EACH NATION.

-- SURELY NO ONE COULD REALLY IMAGINE THAT BRAZIL WOULD OR COULD SERVE AS OUR LACKEY OR SURROGATE -- IT IS THE VERY SIZE AND STRENGTH OF THE NATION AND ITS TRADE POTENTIAL THAT DETERMINES THE PARTICULAR CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM. WE AND THEY HAVE A REAL NEED TO CONSULT. KEEP AN EYE ON THIS QUESTION, HOWEVER. WE ANTICIPATE
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SOME CONCERN, AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT CONCERN. BUT WE DO NOT WANT EXAGGERATED OR DISTORTED IMPRESSIONS TO DAMAGE OUR TIES ELSEWHERE.

6. THE CUBAN EFFORT IN ANGOLA WAS A LIVE ISSUE THROUGHOUT THE TRIP, IN THE PRIVATE MEETINGS, IN THE SECRETARY'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND IN THE PRESS CONFERENCES. YOU KNOW HOW HE APPROACHED THE ISSUE. HE DID NOT PROMOTE IT. IT WAS PLAIN THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP WAS NOT TO ORGANIZE A CRUSADE AGAINST CUBA. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS APPARENT THAT THE VISIT ITSELF, AND THE PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY, HAD A CERTAIN JELLING EFFECT FOR SOME LATINS. IN PERU, FOR INSTANCE, WE GATHERED THAT THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION OF THE CUBAN INTERVENTION AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE, WHICH WAS PRINTED IN FULL IN "CORREO", WAS THE

FIRST SUCH ANALYSIS ON THE PUBLIC RECORD THERE. IN ALL EVENTS, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE APPREHENSION, PARTICULARLY AROUND THE RIM OF THE CARIBBEAN ABOUT CUBA. MORE OF THIS LATER, I AM SURE.

FINALLY, THE SECRETARY WANTS TO COME AGAIN, PERHAPS IN CONNECTION WITH THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY -- THOUGH IT IS NOT SETTLED FINALLY THAT HE WILL ATTEND. YOU NEED NOT REPLY BY RETURN CABLE THAT YOU WOULD WELCOME HIM; WE ACT ON THE ASSUMPTION HERE THAT THAT IS SO IN THE CASE OF EACH OF OUR POSTS ABROAD. YOU WILL HEAR MORE OF HIS PLANS FOR A POSSIBLE TRIP SHORTLY. BUT IT SAYS SOMETHING OF HIS REACTION TO THIS VISIT THAT HE HAS NOT YET HAD AS MUCH TIME IN LATIN AMERICA AS HE WOULD LIKE. INGERSOLL

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